considerable social intercourse between the two groups. 186 563 571
Unfortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq, took service with the British, particularly in the infantry levy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in crushing two Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled in the Rowanduz area, at Batas, Dara Harir and Dyana, and, while outwardly amicable, the Kurds feel toward them a certain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance with the British, especially in the lucrative occupations of the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part, [167] the Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as are able migrate abroad. The Christians of this native [582] group are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of their daughters to Muslims as the Muslims are toward them. One can find Muslims in Baghdad with American, British, or German wives, but never Armenian or Chaldaean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. 627 837 548
Muslim girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim woman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent danger of being slain by their relatives, and the Baghdad press is filled daily with such killings. Thus most of [553] them assume Christian names, often of a cinema favorite, and wear a cross conspicuously at the throat, changing outwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam 771 commands tremendous respect from its followers and is a 578 "proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A Muslim may be cursed by a non-Muslim to a certain point,

cross-piece, and the whole, with the infant bound in it, can be carried about easily by this last. The child is laid on a pad or mat and bound in the cradle with straps of intricately woven and embroidered wool. A hollow piece of cane is placed between the infant's legs whereby the urine runs off, either on the earthen floor or into a tin. In warm weather the cradle is covered by linen or gauze to protect the baby from flies and mosquitoes. The cross-piece is always hung with charms against the evil eye, verses from the Quran enclosed in cloth packets, pieces of blue porcelain and drilled pebbles, and gilded ornaments. The infant's costume for both sexes is a simple dress of brightly coloured material, sometimes with a little apron. No undergarments are in use. The shoulder of the dress is also pinned with charms, like those mentioned above, or a round embroidered insignia, much like a representation of a wagon-wheel.

A week or two after birth, the infant is named, an event which is not marked in Rowanduz by an elaborate ceremony. A man of wealth invites his friends to attend, and entertains them in the guest-room with light refreshments. The mulla or priest is summoned, and the baby is placed in his arms. He has been informed of the name selected previously by one of the family. He holds the child in such a way as to be able to speak into its ear. He gently intones what was described in Rowanduz as the iman (Arabic, "creed," more correctly, the shahada, "testimony"

of faith), Ullahu akbar, Ullahu akbar, ashhadu anna la ilaha illa llah wa ashhadu anna Muhammad rasul Ullah, "God is greatest, God is greatest, I bear witness that Muhammad is the Apostle of God," for the infant, something analogous to a Christian baptismal ceremony. He then says the name of the child loudly in its ear three times, and the formal ceremony is completed. The investigator was told that elsewhere in Kurdistan, specifically at Sulaymaniya, there are extensive celebrations connected with naming. The name itself is usually selected by the parents, who can defer its choice to the grandparents. It was also said that a name was occasionally obtained by drawing one of a number of written slips from a bag, or that it appeared to one of the parents in a dream. 553 852 [539]

The Kurds do not use family names, but occasionally add appellations which further identify the person in question. The proper names are in part derived from Arabic, among them the numerous "slaves" of God, for example, 'Abd al-Rahman, "Slave of the Merciful," or simple ones such as Anwar or Fatima. Others, like Mustafa or Izzet, have a Turkish origin, and some are purely Kurdish or Persian. On analogy from the Arabs, the parents of a child may be designated after him. Thus, the mother and father of Nawzad might be termed Dak Nawzad and Baba Nawzad respectively. A person may also be identified by the name of his father, for example, Aziz Shakir, Aziz "the son of" Shakir. For additional characterization, a man may be 551

842 The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband, subjected to
[595] neighbours' pressure, to initiate negotiations about one wife more[56], who would be able to bear him a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes[57],
[989] by sewing triangular amulet packets onto its clothes, and by fasting ornaments to its hair and glass beads and buttons around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that averts evil (see amulets).

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304 *Circumcision*, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the
852 Coran. According to Juynboll[58] the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not until its 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to Østrup[59], circumcision is performed on the 8th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is said to be practised when they are about 5 days old.

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852 *Naming ceremony*. In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the
553 child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a *mulla*, sitting in a tailor's posture, took the child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Havva (Eve)". Examples of names for boys are: *'Arif, Hamid, Ja'fer, Karim, Kemâl, Mahmud, Majid,*
[551] *Muhammad, Qâsim, Sa'id, Sardâr, Wahid, Walid*, and for girls: *Aja, 'Afiya, Gulla, Maliha, Nâhid, Nâhida, Sahiha.*

551 In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surname[60]. In the case of men the addition of the title Sayyid or Sheikh existed. My host at the village of Topzawa was referred to by everybody, also by his wife, as "Sheikh" Taifûr. In my experience the term sheikh was used in front of a man's name to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question. For example there were *Sheikh Taifûr* and his brother, usually called "*Mâm(a)-Xâl(a)*", but whose real name was *Ahdul Qâdir Sheikh 'Arif*, who owned the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa in concert. There was also a third brother, *Kâkâ Rizâ* (Elder brother R.) or *Sheikh Rizâ*, who owned the village of Sargalu. The eldest son of Sheikh Taifûr was likewise addressed as *Sheikh Sardâr*. Thus the word sheikh is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by Barth[61] and Lees[62], both of whom confuse the term "Sheikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Sheikh" stood for a member of a tribal ruling family[63] and also that, as maintained by Leach: "the name is however carried as an ordinary name"[64]. As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with it no religious power or reputation of holiness[65].

[171] Additions like those, used in Arabia and Iran:[66] "father to, slave of, son of ... and so forth, are not used by the Kurds.

551 Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Henny, not Madame
562 Hansen). In addition—a peculiarity of the Kurds—the male title "khan" could be added to the name of a distinguished woman[67]. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as Bella Khan, called Sheikh Taifûr's wife Na'ima Khan, and was herself referred to as Maliha Khan.

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858 *The Kindergarten child. Analysis of the position of the child.* As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows
184 no place for the infant and small child, as it first recognises the child as a member of the community

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

561 religious festivals; though such transitions are of importance to the group as a whole, they concern one family more than other families in the village. There are no age-grades or similar organizations, and the celebrations thus remain more of a family affair. The scale of the celebrations is then determined by the means of the family, and the event is simply one more opportunity for conspicuous consumption and for re-affirming friendship ties. The celebrations and rites are concerned with birth and naming, circumcision, teething, tattooing, marriage, and death. Rites marking puberty are lacking. — Since it serves no purpose in the present context to describe the various rites in any detail, the following discussion will deal only with some more general aspects of the proceedings.

344 Before the birth of the child, the parents, to the extent they can afford it, prepare clothes for it. During labor, neighboring women or a kind of specialist midwife may assist. The placenta is secretly buried. Certain precautions connected with the newborn infant are interesting, in that they emphasize the importance attached to sons, [719] and the woman's fear of being barren: When a boy is born, the relatives guard him day and night for seven days, and may further protect him by laying a knife, large needle, or onionleaf beside his crib. This is so that the *shaoa*, a form of *djinn* or supernatural being, will not be able to harm him. The shaoa is said to be an old childless woman who becomes envious to see a child born. The shaoa is not so interested in girl children, so there is no need to guard a girl baby, though a knife or onion-leaf may be placed beside her.

553 On the seventh or thirteenth day after birth, relatives and friends are called in, and a mullah is asked to officiate at the *naming ceremony*. On this occasion, the throat of a sheep is cut and a feast is given, if the parents can so afford.

852 *Circumcision* of boys is done any time before the age of puberty, and is usually performed simultaneously on a large number of boys. Islamic doctrine stipulates that it should never be done on less than three boys at a time — if there are only two boys present, it may in fact still be done, the neck of a rooster being cut off to substitute for the third boy. The officiator is a barber from some larger town, usually Suleimani. It is customary on this occasion for the village